592 She was fairly pretty, very quiet and reserved towards us, and enjoyed
357 helping my mother with the babies, supervising the work of the servant girls and valeting my father. Ngwe Yin, who came to us as a very attractive girl with a reputation for being unmanageable even at a young age, always chose the task of taking us for walks in the evenings so that she could put on her nice clothes. She took us wherever she liked, or she sat with us at meal times and let us be as naughty as we wanted while she indulged in repartee with my father's clerks or chauffeur. Mya Shwe was my contemporary and playmate; she went to school while I was in boarding school but cut short her attendances the day I came home, irrespective of differences in our school calendars.

357 When A-Kyi was about nineteen it was announced to us that she
584 was to be married to my father's clerk, Maung Hla Bu. This young man was a favourite of my parents and had been a constant admirer of A-Kyi, helping her to make the beds when my father took the whole family on tours, but awaiting the graciousness of my parents before he dared to ask for her in marriage. My mother gave A-Kyi a small trousseau and a few pieces of jewellery, and they were married shortly before my father got a posting to another station. When a child was born, Mya Shwe, who had outgrown her days as a playmate for me, went to stay with them. Ngwe Yin, the beautiful girl, continued discontentedly for about a year, and then she eloped with a student protégé of my father's. I don't think either of my parents were very shocked at this.

357 My memories of the girls who worked for us are happy enough only
565 because my mother had been brought up in Grandfather's house where everyone was taught to do things for herself; in her character also was a pervading sense of tolerance. In some minkadaws' houses, however, I have seen two girls kneeling with soap and towel outstretched, while the mistress bathed herself. In more cheerful but no less aristocratic-minded households a meal laid ready on the table is the signal for one girl to get under the table and fan the mosquitoes off the legs of the family, and another to play the gramophone right through the meal My gay young uncle San Lin extended the domestic duties of his girls to the learning of modern songs which he liked, and he did his morning dressing to the accompaniment of his servant girls with powder on their faces and jasmine buds in their hair, swinging their feather brooms to the rhythm of modern love songs.-

592 A-Kyi and A-Shwe and all the girls we had before and after them
431 bring back memories of the household articles which made with them a
• 513 background never recovered in our later Rangoon days. My mother,
286 like all minkadaws in the districts, did not depend on a big bazaar and
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shops to supply her with goods, but took a special pride in buying each product from the town where the best quality of it was manufactured. She could do this either by my father's being posted within its district, by going there on a pagoda-visiting expedition, or by having relatives posted there; and a survey of all the household possessions I can remember makes a cross-section of Burmese crafts. All our blankets were Burmese *saungs*, good stoutly woven cotton pieces, about 7 feet long and 4½ feet wide. We had single ones of red, black and yellow stripes which looked very bright and barbaric; they came from the Chin Hills. We used these in the hotter months. During the colder months we used thicker *ok-saungs* which we got from Pakokku; they were 14 feet long and used doubled, with a fringe at both ends. These were woven very strong and white, with bold red stripes on them in pleasing combinations. All these saungs washed more and more beautiful to our childish eyes. My mother had a big collection of them in wooden chests and some of them have lasted 30 years and are still beautiful.

She was also very jealous of her collection of *hpyas*, mats for sleeping or sitting on, woven closely of the fibres of a reed called *thabaw*, or, finer still, of the outer skin of a grass-like plant, the *thin*. These light and flexible mats or *thinbyu* came from Laymyethna, "The Town of Four Faces". They were equally smooth on both sides and had velvet borders piped on, broad at one end and narrower at the other, to distinguish the head end for nobler use, and to be sure of always resting the feet on the same ignoble end. We had them in big sizes for the beds and for afternoon naps on the verandah, and smaller sizes for prayers and for visitors to sit on. My mother kept them in rolls, five or six rolled together according to quality, covered with a cylinder of ticking and stood end up along her dressing-room.

Although we used imported crockery for the table we could not do without Burmese pottery for other purposes. Water-pots and goblets of light pottery from Twante, near Rangoon, were necessary to keep the water cool. There must be special pots for the altar water, for washing faces, for drinking water (in which pot, however, we kept a sand filter bought from Rangoon), and goblets in all bedrooms. For baths we had big black voluminous jars from Upper Burma, of a less porous pottery with a salt glaze on it, about 30 inches high and wide-mouthed. Smaller ones like these were kept for pickling mangoes and other green fruits. In the kitchen also, the modern aluminium pots would not do for such purposes as cooking acid leaves and fish curry that had tamarind in it; an earthen pot was always used for *chinbaung*, roselle leaves. Moreover, the *salaungbon*, or cover, of an earthern pot can always be used for baking fish paste, a daily

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mortar and measurers, market basket, condiments stored in cigarette tins and quart bottles. A discussion on these subjects is found under the chapter on Food.

Details were secured on the following household items:

[455] SAUNG (blankets). Both THA-KA-LAT SAUNG (flannal blanket) and GUN SAUNG (Cotton blanket) are actually woolen blankets. (cost Rs. 25/-). Heavy cotton blankets are called CHI SAUNG . (cost Rs.15/-). Both are for individual use. In Pathwe U Myaing had one blanket of each kind which would last 3 or 4 years. In camp he has only the GUN SAUNG or Upper Burma blanket which he used for 2 years then brought from Pathwe . The females of the family had 6 cotton blankets between them (cost Rs. 12/ each). They brought 4 from Pathwe, two are "good ones", and two are "torn ones". The cotton blankets are supposed to last for 2 years according to Ma Aye Myaing. Intense love is indicated by the [152] saying "we will go under one blanket", but double blankets are not known.

HMWE-YAR, (Enjoying place) mattress. It is a thin square cloth sack measuring 4 TAUNG on a side by 4 inches in thickness and stuffed with KAPOK. U Myaing had one at Pathwe which would last 7 or 8 years. It was made at home and valued at Rs. 30/-. Daw Aw Zar [435] and the children shared a double mattress, a gift from her neice, in Pathwe but all sleep on split cane mats only in camp.

(SU DIN; raised wooden beds are rarely used in villages.)

GAUNG-ON, (head-lay) pillow. Pillows are made at home. Two may be made from 3 TAUNG (1½ yards) of cloth. They are cloth sacks filled with cotton and last 3 or 4 years - valued at Rs. 3/8 each. U Myaing had 2, and the females 8 at Pathwe. He used a wooden pillow made of small, raised board, while the females use rag bundles.

HPYAR, Sleeping mats. Two kinds are used; a split TA BAW plant [285] mat and a more finely woven thin plant with over 2 under 2 weave mat. They measure 6 by 3½ feet . The mats lasted two years and were woven at home. 4 to 8 mats were kept on hand at Pathwe; here 4 mats are in use.

AYAR-KIN (sleeping place cover) bed sheet: The bedsheet s used in Pathwe measured 6' by 3½' and were made of cotton. Three were used by U Myaing and lasted a year; they cost Rs. 7/- each. Camp: none.

CHIN TAUNG, Mosquito net: One kind was made of fine netted

cloth, small enough to keep mosquitos out. The other kind was made of plain cloth to keep out the smallest insects. The nets are rectangular for a single bed, square for a double. They are suspended over the bed on a wooden framework and tucked under the mattress. Pathwe: three were used by the family and two kept in reserve. Each lasted 4 or 5 years. The reserve nets cost Rs. 60/- each, the others Rs. 40/- or 45/- each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwe, this is used by U Myaing and his wife. The rest of the family have none. Two are desired.

TA-BYET-SEE, broom: The hand broom is used to brush out dust and dirt from the floor of the house. It is about 2 feet long, 2 inches in diameter and consists of bent over bunches of stiff reeds bound at the top by a more flexible reed strip. The one used in camp cost 12 annas in Rangoon.

Burmese Concepts about the Home.

The following Burmese ideas about the home were secured mainly from Ko Maung Than, my research assistant.

The Burmese regard the MIN-ZAR (home place) with great love, and as the most essential feature of life. The head of a family will frequently admonish: "My young ones let us remain with our nest intact and our eggs uncracked", this is also a common prayer. The ideal is to preserve the family home with necessary repairs in its original form. Wooden (teak) houses are preferred to bamboo. The husband and wife are partners in the ownership of the home which they start at marriage. Indeed, the word for "marriage" MIN-DAUNG-PYU (Home-separately-build) emphisize the importance of building a home upon starting a family. In villages the mother and children spend almost all of their time in and around the home. Since the Burmese are especially sedentary, short journeys being unusual and infrequent events, the house is the spot where he lives and dies. It is furthermore his "castle" and place of security within which he is "ruler".

Each house is under the direct protection of MIN MAHA-GIRI one of the 37 major nats of Burma. He controls the fortunes of the family and in return is revered. A coconut, the symbol of MIN-

342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded pursuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat TON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this [563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
[574] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section). Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed. Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beleifs and observances in connection with
●513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SHIK (children

quiet), the time when the children become quiet, from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THAKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. AYO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so.

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It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the mats. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently.

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Analysis of home standard in Pathee and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathee home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathee home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathee home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period.

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Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,000 cubic feet in Pathee, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However,

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511 722 361 842 much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six tsung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

511 722 352 415 There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and porcelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HSOON vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAN food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

[264] The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

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quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses. 511 722 [513]

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathwe house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathwe were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathwe quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed. 352 415 [574] 511 178

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison. 722 669 511 [464] [435]

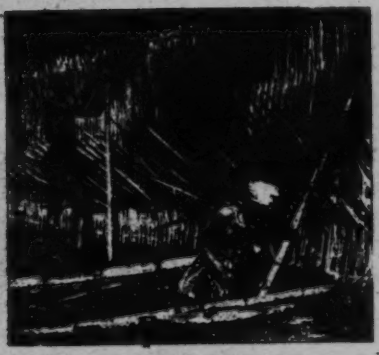
753 The concept of KARMA (fate) is important only in determining
777 the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's
262 belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to one's KARMA - in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT - girls' weakness; DULAH - boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KARMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

751 Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Calli-
526 sthenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by
461 " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular
757 daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is
514 taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so - one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also lead to unhealthiness. The ideal
● [93] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

158 Too much worrying SAY-TAUNG-LO-NOUEN (mind-beating-because-
753 body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEI-PYEIEN (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4



166. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar, or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *sedi*, the *Payd-mye* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.